

File name: REH1-012.pdf

CCLAS session: 01-Daisy-03_08_10

- All records have been sorted by segment time (i.e., chronologically)
- Margaret and I watched several-minute chunks of the video recording 01-Daisy-03_08_10, and then we went back through to discuss individual records.
- Time stamps in the notes below mark times in the audio recording REH1-012.wav
- Adult-like phonetic targets for selected utterances by Daisy are indicated with **Target:** (timestamp)
- A note on method: I elicited a lot of sentences here, but I did not use pictures for the elicitation: I just asked Margaret how to say different things.
- **Transcriptions** are in the Northern East Cree roman orthography style found on eastcree.org. The equals sign <=>, when used, indicates a morpheme break.

Record 270 (timestamp in the CCLAS recording: 010:37.841-010:39.819)

- The adult says <îyiyiu â an kiyâh mâk> 'is it a person or a ...?'
- The demonstrative <an> refers to <îyiyiu> in an equational construction
- The question particle <â> isn't well described, but I think it may be a second-position clitic: Margaret says <îyiyiu an â kiyâh mâk> is not good (02:24 in REH1-012.wav). Margaret explained that if the question clitic is used, then the utterance-final question marker -h is not used (4:04)
- <îyiyiu â an> is OK 'is that a person?' (03:33)

659 (026:36.658-026:38.975)

- Daisy says <tâni=hî> 'which ones?'
- **Target:** 07:34 in REH1-012.wav

661 (026:39.209-026:40.876)

- Daisy says <nnn=sh ani=yâh> 'those are little nnn's'
- Margaret hears the final -h on the demonstrative <ani=yâh>
- I asked Margaret about the variation between demonstrative forms: <nnnsh aniyâyuh> vs. <nnnsh aniyâh>. Margaret says there's no difference (09:21 in REH1-012.wav).
- **Target:** 10:35

662 (026:41.013-026:41.852)

The adult says <châkwâ=yiuh ani=yâyuih> 'What are those?'

Margaret hears the adult say <ani=yâyuih> not <ani=yâh>. Checking on variation again with Margaret, she says that using <ani=yâh> would also be OK and not change the meaning or feel different (11:57)

663 (026:42.524-026:43.748)

- Daisy says <u=mischishin=ish=h> 'her little shoes'
- Margaret hears the final -h, which is the inanimate plural. For me, I hear her extending the release of that final affricate, which I think is the acoustic correlate of the word-final <h> in that environment.
- I elicited some related words in minimal pairs:
- umischishin 'her shoe' (16:09, 16:12 in REH1-012.wav)
- umischishinh 'her shoes' (16:16)—the stress/accent shift is key here.

- umischishinish 'her little shoe' (15:53, 16:29)
- umischishinishh 'her little shoes' (15:56, 16:31)

860 (034:53.664-034:55.294)

- Daisy says <chiyâshkushich> 'little seagulls'
- The noun is chiyâshkw + ish + ich
- **Target:** 20:30 in REH1-012.wav
- Margaret hears Daisy produce the plural suffix.
- The adult immediately models the more correct pronunciation because Daisy added an extra <shi>

431 (017:47.706-017:50.022)

- Daisy is trying to say <akwaashinâkuhchh wâsh my slippers> 'My slippers looked like that', with her production being [əŋɛktejmejklɪfə]
- **Target:** 25:15, 27:05 in REH1-012.wav
- The beginning is hard for Margaret to make out. The structure is adult-like, and Margaret hears Daisy produce the right ending on the verb, with the double /hh/.
- The Cree-only version of this utterance is <akwaashinâkuhchh wâsh nichaachishaapaayaauaschisinh> (27:11), where the noun is much longer and more complex than the English analog

434 (017:52.925-017:54.197)

- The adult says <ni=châchishâpâyâuaschisin=h chi=ki=iy=i=n> 'say, my slippers'
- Modeling Cree in response to English production from Daisy.
- I elicited some related targets from Margaret:
- chaachishaapaayaauaschisin 'slipper' vs. chaachishaapaayaauaschisinh 'slippers' (28:17 in REH1-012.wav)
- nichaachishaapaayaauaschisin 'my slipper' vs. nichaachishaapaayaauaschisinh 'my slippers' (28:02, 28:27)

414 (016:55.439-017:01.089)

- Daisy says <mikw mikw xxx âh wîh pipâmpiyihât skidooh anitâh âyihtât >
- **Target:** 36:18 in REH1-012.wav
- Original translation was 'He only wants to go ride on his skidoo when he's there.' But Margaret says Daisy is actually saying 'He only wants to go riding on the skidoo, that's why he's there' (37:04)
- There's an issue with Daisy's version of a Conjunct form: Margaret says Daisy pronounces <âwihtât> instead of <âyihtât> (31:58 in REH1-012.wav). Daisy's seems to be adding the preverb <wîh> (34:19), but maybe I'm misunderstanding what Margaret was trying to explain to me.
- Margaret hears Daisy producing the final obviative -h on "skidoo": Margaret provides a minimal pair, with and without final -h: skidoo vs. skidooh (38:29). The stress shift is key.
- This example shows that Daisy categorizes the English and Cree analog together in animacy: Her English "skidoo" is animate, just like <kaaushtaakunichipihtaat> 'skidoo' in Cree
- Daisy is not producing a possessive, just 'skidoo' (37:29): utiskidoom 'his skidoo' (37:33)

351 (013:50.399-013:53.399)

- The adult says <tân kâh=iyiht=i=k âi tân kâh=iyiht=i=k wîyi chi=mushum nnn ani=tâh kâ=iht=âwâkw> 'what happened to a ..., what happened to your grandpa nnn when you were over there?'

352 (013:54.702-013:57.945)

- Daisy responds <chîh=wîh=mini=sh=ikiniwi=uiu uskât> 'They wanted his leg cut off'
- **Target:** 40:48 in REH1-012.wav
- Nice usage of the passive here. Margaret says this is adult-like. Original translation was 'They wanted to cut off his leg', but Margaret offered this translation after some discussion (42:12 in REH1-012.wav).
- This is an interesting production by Daisy. It's a passive, so the object is promoted ... but because it is possessed by a third-person it remains obviative.
- The verb is minishim 'S/he cuts it (inanimate) off'
- I elicited some related structures:
- Can change the word order: <uskât chîh wîh minishikiniwiuiu> 'They wanted his leg cut off' (47:28)
- Chîh wîh minishikiniwiuiu aniyâ uskât 'They wanted his leg cut off' (48:24) (the DEM shows that 'his leg' is covertly obviative)
- Chîh wîh minishikiniuu miskât 'They wanted a leg cut off' (41:42, 43:54). Here the verb ending is different because there is no possessor and therefore the promoted object is proximate. As such, you can't use <aniyâ> with 'leg' here (48:59).
- Chîh wîh minishikiniuu naa miskât 'They wanted that leg cut off' (44:40). Again, this shows the proximate status of the upgraded object.

574 (023:07.955-023:09.568)

- Daisy says <tân ât=âpitis=i=t wî û> 'What's this one for?'
- **Target:** 51:06 in REH1-012.wav

576 (023:13.841-023:15.050)

- Daisy says <âh=wâp=in=ichâ=t=h> '(it's used) ... to throw garbage away?'
- **Target:** 51:54 in REH1-012.wav

577 (023:15.575-023:16.620)

- The adult says <châkwâ=uiu u=yâyuiu> 'What is this?'
- The variant of this demonstrative in <châkwâyuiu uyâ> would be OK too (52:24 in REH1-012.wav). It does not change the meaning.
- The adult is talking about the same thing Daisy referred to in 574 with <uu> (54:04). I don't know why the adult used an obviative form to refer to that.

579 (023:17.678-023:19.276)

- Daisy says <âh=wâp=in=ichâ=t ani=yâ> '(it's used) ... to throw garbage away.'
- **Target:** 56:22 in REH1-012.wav
- This is adult-like
- Margaret confirms Daisy is saying <aniyâ>. The variant <aniyâyuiu> is OK and would mean the same thing (55:29 in REH1-012.wav)

581 (023:21.747-023:22.864)

- Daisy says <garbage=h> '(lots of) garbage'

- Margaret says Daisy produces the inanimate plural -h on “garbage”, to mean lots of garbage (57:25 in REH1-012.wav)
- Margaret produces a minimal pair: garbage vs. garbage-h (58:32). The pitch/stress shift is subtle.
- Daisy is categorizing English “garbage” as inanimate (59:06). Margaret said she’d do the same thing because Cree <waapinichaawin> ‘garbage’ is inanimate.

582 (023:23.331-023:24.460)

- Daisy says <mâtiwâkin=ish=h kiyâh> ‘toys too’
- **Target:** 1:01:44 in REH1-012.wav
- Margaret hears Daisy produce the final -h on ‘toy’
- Again, Daisy has a child-like form of ‘toy’ missing <ki>
- Margaret produces a minimal pair, with and without the plural on ‘toy’: <mâtiwâkinish kiyâh> vs. <mâtiwâkinishh kiyâh> (1:03:11)

583 (023:24.580-023:25.574)

- The adult says <mâtiwân=ish â kiyâh> ‘a toy, too?’
- Adult produces the child form in response to Daisy—no <ki>. She’s also using the singular form of ‘toy’.

586 (023:29.595-023:31.165)

- Daisy says <u=pîpî=m=ish=h> ‘her little baby’.
- Margaret confirms that Daisy produces a final -h. This is the animate obviative ending.
- I elicited some related targets:
- Nipîpîmish ‘my little baby’ (01:07:09, 1:07:40 in REH1-012.wav)
- Nipîpîmishich ‘my little babies’ (1:07:54 in REH1-012.wav)
- upîpîmishh ‘her little baby’ (1:08:05 in REH1-012.wav)
- upîpîmishh ‘her little babies’ (1:08:19 in REH1-012.wav)

588 (023:32.302-023:34.866)

- Daisy says <mâu=tih wî mâu=tih âp=i=ch awâni=chî> ‘here too, people sit here’
- **Target:** 1:09:42 in REH1-012.wav

590 (023:36.659-023:41.584)

- Daisy says <uh ishkwa ... nâpâsh=ish=ich ishkwaš=ish=ich> ‘a ... girl, boys, girls’
- **Target:** 1:11:24 in REH1-012.wav

533 (021:30.901-021:32.320)

- Adult asks Daisy <an mâk wî nnn> ‘what about nnn?’
- She’s asking Daisy about her sibling
- Daisy responds by saying his name.

539 (021:41.936-021:42.916)

- The adult has asked Daisy how she is related to her own brother, and a child off-camera (possibly the brother in question) feeds her the answer by saying <ni=stâs> ‘my older brother’
- Margaret says his pronunciation is flavored by the Whapmagoostui dialect, with palatalized [ŋfta] (1:15:51 in REH1-012.wav)
- **Target:** 1:16:51 in REH1-012.wav)

540 (021:43.055-021:45.746)

- Daisy starts to say <nistâs> the Whapmagoostui way, but then corrects herself.
- Margaret hears Daisy correctly produce the <ni> prefix 'my'.

542 (021:47.325-021:48.784)

- The adult has asked about another child, and the off-camera child says <ni=stâs ayâpich> 'my brother too'
- I clearly hear <utistâsh> 'his/her brother', but I'll defer to Margaret, who hears <nistâs>

543 (021:48.780-021:50.815)

- Daisy responds to the off-camera child and says <utistâs ayâpich> 'also his brother'
- **Target:** 1:24:48, 1:26:07 in REH1-012.wav
- I think perhaps Daisy is just commenting on the relationship between the off-camera child and the child the adult just asked about (1:24:22)
- Margaret says Daisy leaves off the obligatory obviative suffix -h (1:21:02 in REH1-012.wav), with no -h on <utistâs> so that's an omission
- The off-camera boy answers with <ayâpich aniyâh utistâs-h> 'her older brother too' (1:22:32, 1:23:34)
- I asked about using the question particle <â>: <utistâs-h â ayâpich> 'is it her/his brother too?' (1:26:34)

554 (022:22.112-022:23.538)

- The adult asks <tân â=âpiti=sî=t wî û> 'What do this one do?'
- She picks up a toy truck as she asks her question, so <û> refers to the truck
- Then she asks <wâh tân â=âpiti=sî=t chit=it=ây=im=â=u> 'eh? what work do you think it does?'

556 (022:29.433-022:31.205)

- Daisy responds with <âh=âpiti=sî=t kiypwâ> 'to do work, of course'
- Margaret says it's adult-like.
- **Target:** 1:29:18 in REH1-012.wav
- The adult then asks <awân âh=âpiti=sî=t> 'who does the work?'

558 (022:33.243-022:34.607)

- Daisy answers <an ani=tih nâpâu> 'that man there'
- Margaret says this is adult-like.
- **Target:** 1:29:44 in REH1-012.wav

I elicited some related words/structures, regarding moving adverbs within a noun phrase:

- <an nâpâu> 'that man' (1:30:12)
- *Anitih an nâpâu (1:30:25), so no moving the adverb to the front of the noun phrase.
- *An nâpâu anitih is "funny" (1:31:01, 1:31:22), so no moving the adverb to the end of the noun phrase.
- An kaa chinukaapuwit nâpâu 'that tall man' / 'that man who is tall' (1:31:13)
- Naah kaa chinukaapuwit nâpâu 'that (remote) tall man' / 'that (remote) man who is tall' (1:31:36)
- Naah naatih kaa chinukaapuwit nâpâu 'that tall man (over there)' / 'that man (over there) who is tall' (1:32:24)

- *Naatih naah kaa chinukaapuwit nâpâu (1:33:11), so no moving the adverb to the beginning of the complex noun phrase.
- *Naah kaa naatih chinukaapuwit nâpâu (1:33:31), so no splitting up the conjunct verb with the adverb inside.
- Naah kaa chinukaapuwit naatih nâpâu (1:33:44), which shows that the adverb can be moved after the relative clause inside the noun phrase
- *Naah kaa chinukaapuwit nâpâu naatih (1:34:18), which Margaret says “can be said, but not really”

559 (022:34.638-022:36.266)

- The adult asks < tân âsi=nihkâ=su=t an nâpâu> ‘what is the man's name?’

560 (022:36.253-022:39.491)

- Daisy responds with <uh wâmishtikushîu wî an> ‘uh ... that is a white man’
- **Target:** 1:38:31 in REH1-012.wav

90 (003:29.796-003:33.286)

- Daisy says <um âi chîshtihîkin=h> ‘um, these are forks’
- Margaret says Daisy correctly produces plural –h
- Minimal pair: chîshtihîkin ‘fork’ vs. chîshtihîkin=h ‘forks’ (1:39:57 in REH1-012.wav)

68 (002:47.425-002:49.357)

- The adult says <tâni=tih mâk kê=iht=â=ch wîyi=wâu kûhkum=h> ‘so where were they and grandma ...’
- The final -h on kûhkum ‘grandma’: She’s using the question particle as hesitation, a way to hold the floor, as she thinks of the word
- The <wîyi=wâu> refers to people who were with the grandma (1:43:47 in REH1-012.wav)
- For comparison: <tâni=tih kê=iht=â=ch> ‘where were they?’ (1:44:57)
- <tâni=tih kê=iht=â=ch wîyi=wâu> ‘where were they?’ (1:45:09)